Immigration and intolerance in South Africa, 1990-2001

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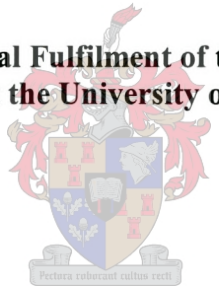

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

ABSTRACT

Many different categories of people move into South Africa daily. Each category has its defined purposes for coming here such as seeking opportunities, a better life and in some cases a safe haven. Many South Africans have become intolerant towards immigrants entering the country. In some cases immigrants have to endure name calling, harassment and in more extreme circumstances violent attacks.

This study proposes to focus on intolerance in South Africa from 1990 to 2001 and describes whether South Africans have become more intolerant towards immigrants over this period. It therefore focuses on certain groups in the South African society based on ethnicity, level of education and category of employment.

A quantitative method is used by means of utilising already existing statistics from the World Value Surveys conducted in 1990, 1995 and 2001. It also takes the form of a longitudinal study by describing xenophobic and intolerant attitudes over an eleven-year period.

OPSOMMING

Elke dag kom verskillende groepe mense na Suid-Afrika. Hulle het ook verskeie redes waarom hulle hierheen kom. Sommige mag gelok word deur die geleenthede wat die land hulle mag bied en ander vlug hierheen op soek na 'n veilige blyplek. Alhoewel hulle hierheen kom vir definitiewe redes, word hulle nie deur alle Suid-Afrikaners verwelkom nie. Hulle word dikwels die slagoffers van aanvalle en word ook gereeld geteister.

Die doel van hierdie studie is om verdraagsaamheid in Suid-Afrika te analiseer deur om na vreemdelingsvrees van Suid-Afrikaners teenoor immigrante te kyk. Die studie wil die vlak van verdraagsaamheid tenoor immigrante vanaf 1990 tot 2001 beskryf. Klem word op spesifieke groepe van Suid-Afrikaners geplaas naamlik rasse groep, die vlak van geletterdheid so wel as werkskategorie.

Die studie gebruik dus 'n kwantitatiwe navorsingmetode en statistieke van die *World Value Surveys* wat in 1990, 1995 en 2001 gedoen is. Dit beoog om die veranderinge in verdraagsaamheid oor 'n periode van elf jaar te beskryf.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AIDS	:	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	:	African National Congress
HIV	:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
SADC	:	Southern African Development Community
WVS	:	World Value Surveys

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Many different categories of people move into South Africa daily. These transboundary groups come here for defined purposes such as seeking opportunities or a safe haven. This trend of movement into South Africa has not always been constant. From the Apartheid period until today the types of immigrants, their origins and the conditions under which they were allowed to enter the country have changed.

Not all immigrants have been welcomed with open arms. Many South Africans are intolerant of immigrants moving into the country and this is often manifested as xenophobia. This study will focus on the attitudes of intolerance in the form of xenophobia expressed by South Africans towards immigrants.

This chapter will provide a general introduction by focusing on the background to immigration in South Africa and defining the various types of immigrants. It will describe the transboundary movements by focusing on the relevant figures and the push and pull factors influencing immigration. The increasing levels of intolerance within South African society will be discussed and the problem statement and hypotheses will be defined.

1.1.1. Immigration in South Africa

During the Apartheid period immigration was not an issue that caused much concern for the government. The South African government was hostile towards virtually all forms of immigration namely immigrants, migrants, asylum seekers and refugees (Crush and McDonald, 2000: 6). During the 1980s immigration patterns to South

Africa became more diverse. Skills were imported from the homelands (former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei), the rest of Africa and Asia (Mattes *et al.*, 2000:23). Immigrants from Asia included mainly Taiwanese and Japanese. Other European immigrants, especially Portuguese, were prominent. Blacks, mainly from other African countries, were allowed to enter the country, but only under strict conditions. They were generally allowed to enter the country only for very clearly defined purposes, as migrants to work on the South African mines.

After the influx control legislation was scrapped in 1986, people could technically move more freely into South Africa, since the restrictions on the number of immigrants entering the country were reduced and it became more likely for employers to recruit workers at the mine gate (Commission Report, 1996). According to Crush and Williams (1999: 2) cross-border movement increased rapidly during this period. The increase was due to the high number of refugees moving from Mozambique to other countries in the Southern African region. Even though the South African government was the prime cause of this movement, because of its destabilisation policies, it responded by restricting the movement into South Africa, electrifying border fences and by deporting these refugees (Crush and Williams, 1999: 2).

During the 1990-1994 transition period the government retained its earlier policies on immigration. By 1991, however, the term 'immigrant' no longer merely referred to whites (as it did in the past) but to blacks as well, especially from other African countries (Mattes *et al.*, 2000: 23).

Maharaj (1997: 271) is of the opinion that the increase in illegal immigrants to South Africa since 1990 could be attributed to the regional instability. During this period, from 1992 onwards, changes in the Mozambican political system lead to economic refugees fleeing to South Africa (Wiese, 1996: 13). At the same time unemployed Zimbabweans and people from Botswana started crossing the border into South Africa in larger numbers (Wiese, 1996: 13).

After South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the South African government's response regarding immigrants was (and still is) troublesome. On the one hand, there was constant conflict over the need for the South African state to retain its sovereignty and, on the other, the need to focus on human rights. The country had to respond to immigrants in accordance with its new democratic rights-based regime. The South African government started acknowledging that skilled immigration could in fact be advantageous to the country. They, however, retained stringent controls on immigration by limiting the conditions of legal entry into the country. This led to a decline in the number of legal immigrants and, since legal immigration was so restricted, illegal immigration and corruption among immigration officials increased (Crush, 2000: 6; Mattes *et al.*, 2000: 23).

Even though the South African government remained restrictive in its immigration policies, it felt that it had a responsibility to the other countries in the region because of the economic, social and racial inequalities that were caused in the Southern African region by the Apartheid government (Whitman, 2000:74). Many state officials felt that they owed something to these countries, since they had themselves resided there after going into exile. Nelson Mandela, the South African President at that stage, claimed that the government should not be 'very tough' with illegal immigrants from the neighbouring countries, since countries such as Mozambique granted members of the African National Congress asylum during the Apartheid years and that they (the ANC) felt at home while residing there (South Africa Survey, 1997: 47). South Africa, as a new democratic government with a relatively higher level of development than its neighbours, was also expected to be more 'sympathetic' towards people from the neighbouring countries (Maharaj, 1997: 271).

Migrants from neighbouring states such as Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique contributed to the economic infrastructure of South Africa. At the same time, they could have brought about the decline of the economies of their countries of origin (Kotzé and Hill, 1997:7).

1.1.2. Categories of transboundary movements

Different groups can be distinguished in these transboundary movements, namely migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and immigrants. These groups could be here legally or illegally. A brief description of these groups follows below.

Migration can be described as moving from one country to another. Ryan (1973) (cited in Groenewald and Smedley, 1977: 12) states that "such a movement impl(ies) an element of dissociation from the usual and familiar, and a transition to a new context of physical space and social relationships". *Migrants* refer to those people entering a country for a short period for work purposes. The International Labour Organisation (in Whiteside, 1985: 1) defines a migrant as "a person who migrates from one country to another with a view of being employed otherwise than on his own account and includes a person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment". These people do not seek permanent residence.

Immigrants, on the other hand, refer to those people moving to a country with the intention of permanently residing there. They can therefore be permanent residents or naturalised citizens. *Naturalised citizens* refer to those who 'sacrifice' their citizenship in their home country for citizenship in the receiving country (Harris, 2001:19). *Illegal immigrants* or *aliens* include "any given alien (who) enters or remains in the RSA (Republic of South Africa) in contravention of the *Aliens Control Act* (Act 96 of 1991) and includes any alien who (i) enters the RSA at a place other than a port of entry; (ii) remains in the RSA without a valid residence permit; (iii) acts in contravention of his residence permit; (iv) remains in the RSA after the expiry of this residence permit; (v) is prohibited from entering into the RSA; or (vi) becomes a prohibited whilst in the RSA" (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 14). It therefore includes those who are in possession of forged documents and those who have obtained the documents by fraudulent means.

But not only immigrants and migrants enter South Africa. Another two categories, similar in character, are *asylum seekers* and *refugees*. These categories refer to those who seek protection in another country for fear of risk to their lives and lack of national protection. According to Harris (2001:12), a refugee, in terms of the Refugee Act, is defined as "a person who (a) owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, and (b) owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing or disrupting public order in either part or the whole of his or her country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his or her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place..." (Draft Refugee White Paper, 1998 in Harris, 2001:12). An asylum seeker is someone applying for refugee status.

The distinction between these groups is often overlooked and "for many South Africans, the distinction between refugees and illegal aliens is immaterial, since foreigners are often perceived to be taking away houses and jobs while bringing crime and drugs to the country" (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 18). Intolerance would therefore be directed towards all these categories of people.

1.1.3. An interpretation of immigration figures

The number of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees, migrants and illegal immigrants entering South Africa has fluctuated over the past few years. The immigration figures are important, since an increase in immigration could possibly relate to higher levels of intolerance. An overview of the figures relating to legal immigration, migrants, refugees and illegal immigrants will be given below.

The figures for *legal immigration* to South Africa from 1965 until 1970 revealed that most immigrants came from Europe (157 087) and second most from Africa (44 418). During 1975 to 1980 the number who came from Europe was 76 381, while the

number from the rest of Africa was 50 343 (Mattes *et al.*, 2000: 23 {see Table 1}). The distribution of immigrants according to African countries in 1984 was as follows: 138 443 from Lesotho, 60 407 from Mozambique, 29 268 from Malawi, 26 433 from Botswana and 16 823 from Swaziland (Whiteside, 1985:1-3).

The official statistics of documented immigration shows that during the period 1992 to 1994 most documented immigrants came from Europe (more than 40%) and Asia (31,4%) and only 18,4 % came from African countries (Chimere-Dan, 1996: 45). In terms of immigration to South Africa from the major countries during 1995 and 1997, the majority of immigrants came from the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In 1995 1 056 came from the SADC region and 1 046 came from the United Kingdom. In 1997 870 came from the SADC region and 623 from the United Kingdom (Mattes *et al.*, 2000: 23 {see Table 2}). There has been a decline in the number of legal immigrants coming into South Africa.

The exact number of *migrants* in South Africa is a controversial issue. During the 1980s politicians made exaggerated statements, stating there were approximately one million undocumented and 352 000 legal migrants in South Africa. Whiteside (1985:1-3), contradicted this claim by stating that there were about 700 000 registered and unregistered migrants in South Africa. Crush and Williams (1999:2) estimated that approximately 200 000 foreign miners were working on contract in South Africa in 1994. From 1984 until 1994 there had been a dramatic decrease in the number of migrants working on mines. The figure dropped from 204 052 non-South Africans in 1984 to 148 151 non-South Africans in 1994 (South Africa Survey 1995/96, 1996: 258-259).

Crush and Williams (1999:2) also estimated that about 300 000 Mozambican *refugees* were residing near the Mozambican border in 1994. Harris (2001: 12) stated that in May 2001 approximately 52 000 asylum seekers and 16 000 refugees were living in South Africa. Once again there is controversy regarding the exact number of refugees and asylum seekers.

Solomon (2001: 3) writes that in 1989 the South African Institute of International Affairs estimated that there were 1,2 million *illegal immigrants* in the country. Furthermore, he notes that by 1994 the South African Institute of International Affairs estimated that there were approximately 5 million illegal immigrants in South Africa. However, a more reliable estimate was made by the Human Science Research Council by means of a door-to-door survey, which estimated the number of illegal immigrants to be between 2,5 and 4,1 million (Solomon, 2001: 3).

Illegal immigrants (those in the country without proper documentation) are deported and repatriated. Deportation refers to "a person [being] sent back to his/her country of birth from the country where he/she is legally resident if his/her presence in that country becomes undesirable for some reason, or if he/she commits a criminal offence" (South Africa Survey 1997/98, 1998: 111). Repatriation is "the process whereby a person who has illegally entered a country or whose temporary residence has expired is restored to his/her country of origin" (South Africa Survey 1997/98, 1998: 111).

Table 1.1. shows the repatriation figures from 1988 to 1990 from South Africa according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (South Africa Survey 1995/96, 1996: 32).

There has been an increase of 9 178 persons repatriated over the three-year period, with a striking increase in the number of people repatriated to Mozambique. The number of immigrants entering South Africa illegally has therefore increased over this period.

Table 1.1: Repatriations from South Africa: 1988-1990

COUNTRY	1988	1989	1990
Mozambique	33 446	38 758	42 330
Zimbabwe	3 527	5 817	5 363
Lesotho	4 400	4 728	3 832
Swaziland	1 839	1 269	1 225
Botswana	757	843	569
Malawi	248	110	78
Tanzania	7	4	6
Ghana	1	0	0
TOTAL	**44 225**	**51 529**	**53 403**

Source: South Africa Survey 1995/96, 1996: 32

Table 1.2. shows the repatriation figures and the related countries from 1991 until 1998. These figures were obtained from the Department of Home Affairs. There was a dramatic increase in the number of repatriations from 1991 until 1998. The total number of repatriations escalated from 55 157 to 170 191, which is an increase of 115 034 over a seven-year period. This indicates that South Africa is still a favoured destination for illegal immigrants and that the influx is continuing. It would then be necessary to focus on the causes for the ongoing entry into South Africa.

Table 1.2: Repatriation figures for 1991-1998 provided by the Department of Home Affairs

CITIZENS	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Mozambique	47 974	61 210	80 926	71 279	131 689	157 425	146 285	141 506
Zimbabwe	7 174	12 033	10 861	12 931	17 549	14 651	21 673	28 548
Nigeria	-	3	22	48	61	49	23	57
China	7	2	43	32	74	37	62	58
United Kingdom	2	-	1	8	23	21	22	20
Canada	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	2
TOTAL	55 157	73 248	91 853	84 298	149 399	172 185	168 066	170 191
(Supplied by DHA, 1999)								

Source: Harris B *Violence and Transition series* August 2001

1.1.4. Push and pull factors regarding immigration

The main factors causing transboundary movements are political, economic and cultural. According to Sabela (in Whitman, 2000:104), the first set of factors includes crime, prosperity and peace. Many people emigrate from a country due to its high crime rates. Others may favour a country as a destination that would provide them with the possibility of prosperity and a better life. Secondly, in some countries such as Rwanda and Zaire people fear persecution and experience a lack of protection from their regime. This forces them to move to a safer country. Reitzes (in Whitman, 2000: 62) relates to the factor of 'fear of persecution' as mentioned by Sabela. She states that "many illegals are compelled to migrate by conditions of political turmoil and socio-economic deprivation in their home countries, and are drawn to South Africa in the expectation of political freedom, stability and economic opportunities resulting from the advent of democratic government" (Whitman, 2000: 62). Thirdly, Sabela states people may enter a country (legally/illegally) for the services it can provide, such as "health, education and consumer facilities" (Whitman, 2000: 107). Fourthly, and commonly overlooked (but prominent in African countries), is "traditional ceremonies

and tribal customs" (Whitman, 2000: 107). In this case people are forced to leave their own country to search for employment in order to pay 'lobola' to get married.

Wilson (in Hill, 1998: 58) proposes a model of oscillating migration in explaining the immigration patterns of South Africa and why people seem so attracted to the country. The model is explained in terms of four forces, namely rural and urban pulls and rural and urban pushes. If South Africa is understood as being the urban centre of southern Africa, the patterns can be described as follows.

The movement towards the urban centre is characterised by *force 1*, the urban pull, which relates to people being drawn to employment opportunities. It is also characterised by *force 2*, the rural push, which refers to the increasing levels of poverty in rural areas that force people to move to urban areas for employment opportunities (Hill, 1998: 58).

The movement towards rural areas includes migrant movement and involves those not intending to reside permanently in the urban centre. It is characterised by *force 3*, the urban push, which refers to the seasonal contract of migrants and to the fact that they have to move home after the contract period has expired. It is also characterised by *force 4*, the rural pull, which refers to the situation when – in comparison with the harsh and sickening conditions of the urban area – the rural home attracts people to maintain contact with their families and leads to their moving back there frequently (Hill, 1998: 59).

Martin, arguing from another point of view, states that even though some countries may push or pull regarding immigration, immigration networks also play a major role. These networks "encompass everything that enables people to learn about opportunities...and take advantage of these" (in Ucarer and Puchala, 1997: 22).

A factor that could encourage illegal migration to South Africa is the inadequacy of the relevant statutory measures. The difficulty in obtaining visas can also encourage

illegal entries. The indecisiveness and conflicting views of political leaders on the issues related to immigration in South Africa could also contribute to this problem. Another factor is that South Africa's transition was characterised as a relatively smooth process; this could also have raised the false perception that more employment opportunities exist in the country. Lastly, fraud and corruption in government departments are common. This leads to the easy access to forged identity documents (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 31-33).

There are certain factors that facilitate the movement across restricted borders. Sabela (in Whitman, 2000:111-112) states that "communication, transport and technology" are pertinent factors, since the recent advances in technology allow people to obtain more information on methods of crossing borders. Transport is also easily accessible, since transporting illegal immigrants produces a sustainable income. Another factor is "porous borders" (Whitman, 2000: 112). Border controls are characterised by an insufficient number of guards, lack of co-operation between guards at the borders, no fences, no electrical fences and, most commonly, corruption. A final factor is geographical proximity, which implies that many people cross borders to visit their families, since they are located in close proximity.

Other methods of illegally entering the country include entering the country legally by obtaining tourist or business visas, while concealing the true intention of seeking employment. Others may enter into marriages of convenience, therefore ensuring permanent residence. The country may also be entered by 'jumping fences' or as stowaways on ships. The inadequate implementation of security measures at airports may allow illegal immigrants to enter the country easily (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 137-151).

1.1.5. Increasing intolerance

Even though the influx into South Africa continues, South Africans are not very tolerant of immigrants living here (Crush, 2001:2). A study conducted by Crush

(2001: 1) found that several South Africans believe immigration affects the country negatively. Most South Africans favour 'force' to control migration and about a third of the respondents stated that they were prepared to personally prevent migrants from moving into their area. About 85% of respondents felt that illegal immigrants should not have the right to freedom of speech or movement. In general, they do not favour immigrants being in the country.

Attitudes of South Africans towards immigrants could be triggered by the feeling that immigrants use scarce economic resources. According to Minnaar and Hough (in Kotzé and Hill, 1997: 17), 55% of the South African respondents favoured stricter limitations against illegal immigrants, since they believed illegal immigrants would 'take their jobs'.

A survey conducted by the South African Migration Project (in Crush, 2001: 22), revealed that many immigrants experienced harassment in South Africa. The immigrants noticed that it was mostly black South Africans who directed these attitudes toward them; this angered them, since they supported black South Africans during the anti-Apartheid struggle. Even though it was understood that many people are intolerant of immigrants, it was found that more than half of the South African respondents had experienced little or no contact with non-citizens. Immigrants were asked about their expectations about treatment in South Africa and the majority of respondents from Mozambique, Lesotho, Namibia and Zimbabwe said they expected to get good or very good treatment from Black South Africans (Crush, 2001: 22, 25).

Among the immigrant respondents, a minority felt that South Africans have positive attitudes towards them. Less than 30% had experienced intolerance from South Africans. Even though most immigrants are aware of the negative views that South Africans hold, 64% stated their experience had been positive or very positive and only 20% stated it had been negative or very negative (Crush, 2001:5).

This study indicates that many South Africans do feel intolerant towards immigrants. This intolerance is revealed in the increasing resistance towards immigrants.

1.1.6. Resistance towards immigrants in South Africa

Even though many immigrants come to South Africa seeking a safer haven and opportunities, they have not always been welcome. Many South Africans feel that these immigrants will affect the country and their lifestyle negatively (Mattes *et al.*, 2000: 22).

South Africans are not very tolerant towards immigrants, especially regarding the rights that immigrants should be entitled to. The concern here is whether South Africans feel human rights should apply to immigrants. Milne (1986) defines Human Rights as follows: "these are the rights which they have solely in virtue of being human, irrespective of nationality, religion, sex, social status, occupation, wealth, prosperity, or any other differentiating ethnic, cultural and social characteristics" (cited in Whitman, 2000: 39). Simply, such rights apply to all people in all places. A study by Crush (2001: 17) found that, as far as human rights are concerned, 56% of the respondents thought these rights applied only to South African citizens.

There appears to be a relatively high level of intolerance and denial of human rights to immigrants. In *Xenophobia is South Africa's new racism* the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation stated that sentiments toward immigrants include intolerance, abuse, extortion, prejudice and violence (*City Press*, 28 October 2001). The most common occurrences are name-calling and harassment that immigrants have to endure. Immigrants are called '*kwerekwere*' which is a negative term for 'African immigrant' (Maharaj, 1997: 258). They are also called '*amagrigamba*' (foreigner who does not belong here).

Intolerance is illustrated in the following selection of incidents:

- Near the former capital of the Gazankulu homeland in March 1990, locals burnt down 300 huts belonging to Mozambicans. In October 1990 near Hout Bay in the Western Cape a fight erupted between local Xhosa fishermen and illegals from Namibia (Solomon, 2001: 9).

- In August 1997 street vendors attacked the non-South Africans amongst them, beating them with sjamboks and sticks. The stalls of these persons were also overturned (*Pretoria News*, 18 August 1997).

- On 3 January 1998 a dog unit border patrol goaded their dogs into attacking and assaulting illegal Mozambican immigrants. Intolerant and xenophobic attitudes are clearly evident in the attacking of defenceless people who were assumed to be there illegally. Illegal immigrants are extremely vulnerable to violence and abuse. They were also targeted because they refused to pay or could not pay the "street tax" (Press Statement by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2000).

- A mob chased and beat up three foreigners in a train carriage. One of the three was thrown out of a window and killed by an oncoming train. The other two were electrocuted on the roof of the train as they tried to escape. Apparently, this was the action of a movement called the Unemployed Masses of South Africa. This movement claimed that foreigners had been taking away the jobs of South Africans. Until then, it had been established that 33 fatal attacks on foreigners were recorded (*Sunday Times*, 6 September 1998; *Sunday Tribune*, 6 September 1998).

- Van der Merwe (*Cape Times*, 25 January 2001) writes about refugees who come to South Africa for sanctuary but instead experience hostility and violence. Reference is made to an incident in which three Congolese

stowaways were left on a life raft without food or water. They were only saved because they were spotted off Cape Point. The stowaways claimed that they came here looking for freedom, but instead found themselves being threatened and assaulted. Also, many street vendors (non-South African) have to endure theft since people claim that they take away business. Once again many officials appear to be corrupt, since some of the officials at the Department of Home Affairs refused to help refugees without payment; these officials had to be bribed if the refugees wanted their paper work to get done immediately.

- Two policemen from the Jeppe Police Station arrested a Zulu teacher who they thought was an illegal immigrant. She was assaulted and left for four hours without any medical treatment. This occurrence relates to other incidents where there were no grounds for arrest and where the victims were not allowed to fetch their identity documents. Once again extortion and bribery are common among arresting officers (*Star* 12 March 2001). In *The Citizen* of 14 March 2001, it was stated that officers arrested suspected immigrants on the basis of complexion, accent, facial appearance and the way they dress.

The following selection of newspaper articles dealt with illegal immigration in a more elaborate manner and illustrates the problems associated with illegal immigration.

In "Don't blame aliens" (*Sowetan*, 11 August 1999), Kollapen from the Human Rights Commission stated that corruption was prominent among arresting officials. It was mentioned that illegal aliens could pay as little as R50 to avoid arrest. Kollapen also stated that "in our country, xenophobia has a racial tag. When we talk of illegal immigrants, the focus is on Africans". The inefficiency of the enforcement officers is once again displayed in *The Star* (19 April 2000) in that Annenih points out that "what is more disturbing is the fact that some law enforcement officers weren't sure what some permits meant, which made them resort to sadistic tactics - namely tearing them up" This was in reference to the anti-immigrant part of the anti-crime blitz.

Meyer in "Onwettige immigrante oorstroom Suid Afrika" (*Rapport*, 27 February 2000) states that the National Consultative Forum on Refugee Affairs estimated that in 1998 50 foreigners were assaulted and killed in xenophobia-related attacks. Meyer also said that foreigners would be targeted as long as the perception remains that they are taking away the jobs of South Africans.

From these incidents, it can be deduced that South African society has indeed remained persistent in their intolerance. In "Keep immigrants out of SA" in the *Pretoria News* (29 April 1999) McDonald, who presented the report of the South African Migration Project, stated that "South Africans' attitude towards immigrants...was not peculiar and they appeared to have the same stereotypical image of Southern Africa [namely] job loss, crime and disease as the negative consequences they feared from immigrants".

Therefore, in South Africa, immigrants have been held responsible for various problems, including the rise in unemployment, the use of scarce public resources and a high crime rate. These problems will be discussed in detail below.

1.1.6.1. Growth in unemployment

The rise in unemployment is the most common problem that immigrants are blamed for. Cawker and Whiteford (1993: 2-3) describe unemployment as the situation when the demand for labour, by those seeking employment, is much higher than the supply. The concept of unemployment includes the following: 'a condition' (such as being without employment), 'an attitude' (such as the need and desire for employment) and 'an activity' (which entails actively searching for employment) (Cawker and Whiteford, 1993: 3). Unemployment is difficult to measure, since many persons consider themselves to be unemployed even though they have a regular income from the informal sector.

Unemployment always was, and still is, an important problem, especially for black people in South Africa during the Apartheid period. Unemployment increased from 11% to 21% for blacks during 1960 to 1981, while the unemployment levels for Indians, Coloureds and Whites (together) decreased from 7,5% to 3% during the same period (Bell and Padayachee, 1984: 6).

Table 1.3: Unemployment (expanded definition) within each race group in 1989, 1991, 1994, 1995 and 1997

YEAR	BLACK	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	TOTAL
June 1989 (excluding independent homelands)[1]	11%	-	8%	6%	-
1991 (excluding independent homelands)[2]	23,3%	4%	16,9%	12,7%	39% of economically active population (including the independent homelands)
October 1994[3]	41,1%	6,4%	23,3%	17,1%	32,6%
October 1995[4]	36,9%	5,5%	22,3%	13,4%	29,1%
1997[5]	46,8%	6,7%	23,0%	13,5%	37,6%

[1] Race Relations Survey 1989/90 (1990: 633)

[2] Race Relations Survey 1993/94 (1994: 469)

[3] South Africa Survey 1995/96 (1996: 261)

[4] South Africa Survey 1996/97 (1997: 359)

[5] South Africa Survey 1999/2000 (1999: 305)

Table 1.3. represents unemployment for each race group for the years 1989, 1991, 1994, 1995 and 1997. The figures for 1989 and 1991 exclude the independent homelands. The figures are based on the expanded definition of unemployment, which refers to those 15 years and older who desire to work whether or not active steps have been taken in search of work (South Africa Survey 1996/97, 1997: 358).

Schlemmer and Levitz (1998:77) state that unemployment is South Africa's most serious socio-economic problem. They point out that the unemployment rate between 20% and 28% is extremely high compared to the rest of the world. This places South Africa in the top 6 countries with the highest rates of unemployment in the world.

In 1998 the realistic unemployment rate was estimated at about 23% to 24% in South Africa, which is lower than the official rates. But even this is among the highest in the world. Schlemmer and Levitz (1998: 4) state that the unemployment estimate is almost 40% in the Northern Province and the former homelands. Women (especially Africans) are also more affected in the labour force, with unemployment estimated at 33% and 39% for African women. For African women between 18 and 24 years, unemployment is well over 50%. Robertson (1996) emphasises the distribution of the different groups and gives a better indication of those most affected. This is as follows: about half of black women and 29% of black men are unemployed, about 18% of coloured males and 28% of coloured females are unemployed, about 10% of Indian men and 20% of Indian women are unemployed, and among whites it is 4% of men and 8% of women (Robertson, 1996).

According to the expanded definition of unemployment, the distribution of the unemployed according to age within the different race groups is displayed in Table 1.4. Within each race group, the highest number of those who were unemployed was in the 15 to 30 years old age group.

Table 1.4: Distribution of unemployed according to racial and age groups in 1997

PROPORTION OF TOTAL WITHIN EACH RACE GROUP				
AGE	**BLACK**	**WHITE**	**COLOURED**	**INDIAN**
15-30 years	53,3%	54,3%	64,0%	65,3%
31-45 years	39,9%	35,1%	30,4%	29,2%
46-65 years	6,7%	10,6%	5,6%	5,6%
TOTAL (in numbers)	4 028 000	94 000	358 000	71 000

Source: South Africa Survey 1999/2000, 1999: 308

The unemployment rate has been rising continuously. In September 2000, using the strict or official definition of unemployment, it was estimated at 25,8%. Using the expanded definition, unemployment was at 35,9% (*Enterprise*, 2001: 78).

Employment is scarce and many South Africans feel threatened by immigrants and also blame them for coming to the country seeking employment (Matshikiza, 1999). "The reality is that in South Africa, where there is an estimated 40% unemployment rate, there is a great resentment against illegals occupying South African jobs...the fact remains, however, that perceptions concerning the issue of illegals occupying jobs are still strong" (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 196).

Among the 2 250 respondents in a study done by the Centre for Socio-political Analysis, 55% felt stricter action should be taken against illegals. Of this 55%, the reasons for their views were as follows: 55% stated that illegals were taking away their jobs; 17% stated they were a health risk; 12% stated they will overpopulate the country; 8% stated they will create more poverty; 8% stated they don't belong here; 5% stated they are a crime risk; 4% stated they create social problems and 2% had no reason. The sentiment that illegals are responsible for the rise in unemployment is therefore one of the most important reasons given by the respondents (Minnaar and Hough, 1996: 196-197).

Immigrants are active in South Africa's employment sector. They target certain areas of employment more than others. Illegal immigrants are usually active in the following sectors: agriculture, hospitality, construction, domestic and informal trading. These are lesser skilled and manual labour jobs in which the many South Africans are active. Immigrants are therefore competing directly with low-skilled South Africans. Union officials also argue that, since the access of South Africans to these jobs may be impeded, this may give rise to intolerance (Solomon, 2001: 15).

Illegal immigrants and those in need of work are prepared to work for far less than the average wage. They cannot complain and many are also exploited in these areas. Those with an illegal status are in a more difficult position as they cannot negotiate wages or belong to unions. Paton (*Sunday Times*, 18 April 1999) refers to Kobus Kleynhans of the South African Agricultural Unit, who stated that some farmers say they could employ Zimbabweans for six times less than South Africans. Paton states these people are prepared to accept as little as R6 to R9 a day. Because they accept these cheap rates, they undermine the jobs of the poorer South Africans. The first priority of these "economic refugees is to stay alive and they are therefore willing to work for extremely low wages. They are prepared to work for R1.00 to R1.40 a day (the average being R4.00 a day) and for the maximum of R91.00 a month" (Wiese, 1996: 15). Employing illegal immigrants is cheaper and as along as they are cheaper, they will continue to undermine the opportunities for many poorer South Africans. This could in turn also create greater levels of intolerance towards immigrants (whether legal or illegal).

1.1.6.2. The use of scarce public resources

Illegal immigrants have been blamed for exploiting scarce public resources, especially the health services (*Sunday Times*, 18 April 1999). Since many illegal immigrants come to South Africa specifically for the purpose of obtaining these resources that they do not have in their own country, the health services in certain areas, especially the border provinces of South Africa, are affected. However, in some areas of South

Africa health services are so scarce that immigrants are blamed for the little they are using. This occurs mainly in the poorer areas. However, Maja, spokesperson for the Department of Health, contradicted this claim. He stated that in Gauteng, where the number of immigrants is the highest, the health services they use are merely a 'drop in the ocean' (*Sunday Times*, 18 April 1999).

Immigrants are also blamed for spreading diseases. Colonel Bornman of the South African National Defence Force stated in October 1994 that many illegals were under the age of 16 and were bringing Aids to the country since their parents have Aids. The illegal immigrants referred to include people from Burundi, Ghana, Liberia, Malawi, Rwanda and Tanzania (South Africa Survey 1995/96, 1997: 31). Solomon (2001: 21) makes a similar point and states that many illegals are malnourished and are therefore more susceptible to diseases such as tuberculosis and HIV/Aids. They are therefore a burden to the health services in two ways: by spreading diseases to other South Africans and by seeking medical assistance from local hospitals and clinics.

Immigrants, especially illegals, are also held responsible for using a portion of the education budget. Van Wyk, a representative of the National Party, stated that the Gauteng government could be spending about R208 million a year alone for the education of about 80 000 to 100 000 illegal immigrants (South Africa Survey 1996/97, 1997: 45).

On the subject of the development of new identity documents for immigrants, Chief Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs, stated in April 1997 that illegal immigrants should not have access to social services that South African taxpayers paid for. The new identity documents for illegal immigrants would make social services even more inaccessible to them (South Africa Survey 1997/98, 1998: 111).

1.1.6.3. A high crime rate

A final problem for which immigrants have been blamed is the increase in the crime rate. A study by Danso and McDonald (2000:16) focused on the negative depiction of immigrants in the media. They found that about 25% of the articles associated with migrants linked them directly or indirectly with crime in South Africa. The high level of crime was constantly blamed on non-nationals. Kollapen (*Sunday Times*, 18 April 1999) stated that a newsletter from the Parkview Police station claimed that 98% of the robberies and rapes in that area were committed by illegal immigrants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Table 1.5: Types of crimes and origins of arrestees in 1999

TYPE OF CRIME	NUMBER OF ARRESTS	% SOUTH AFRICAN	% ZIMBABWEAN	% MOZAMBICAN	% UNKNOWN
Rape	20 480	98.8	0.1	0.3	0.5
Burglary	37 949	98.6	0.1	0.4	0.6
Theft of vehicles	8 486	97.4	0.1	0.6	
Other thefts	70 712	97.2	0.2	0.6	1.2
Commercial crime	11 308	91.0	1.0	1.1	4.8
Illegal firearms	9 162	97.3	0.2	0.2	1.2
Drug related	37 104	96.2	0.1	0.2	1.5

Source: South African Police Service (*Sowetan*, 11 August 1999)

An article, "Don't blame aliens" (*Sowetan*, 11 August 1999), revealed the following crime figures (Table 1.5). It includes different types of crimes and the percentages according to the arrestee's country of origin. From these figures it is clear that

immigrants, in comparison with South Africans, do not contribute much to crime in South Africa.

1.1.7. The need for tolerance

According to the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, the Bill of Rights and its related freedoms apply to all within our nation and state. Only two rights "are expressly reserved to citizens: (a) the right to vote, and (b) the right to engage in freedom of trade, occupation and profession. All other rights are extended to all 'persons' in the country" (Crush, 2001:17). These rights apply to non-South Africans as well. To give effect to these principles, one needs a tolerant civil society. Tolerance is therefore a necessary condition in a democratic society.

President Nelson Mandela addressed the SADC Heads of States and governments in 1995 and stated that South Africa, after being freed from the Apartheid system, aimed at providing regional peace and stability. This was done through political systems based on democratic practice and tolerance. Therefore to be democratic and to aid stability, a country needs tolerance. (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1995/sp950828.html)

The African Charter of Human and People's Rights (21 October 1986), issued by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), obliges the individual to preserve and strengthen African values with other members of society. This should be done in a spirit of tolerance to contribute to the moral well being of society and the achievement of African unity (Towards a White Paper on Traditional Leadership and Institutions, 2000).

According to the OAU in its Declaration and Plan of Action, the collective leadership in Africa should "establish conditions which will ensure social justice and progress and thus enable African peoples to enjoy better standards of living in greater freedom and in the spirit of tolerance towards all" (Declaration and Plan of Action).

The ANC (in *Xenophobia: Intolerance towards fellow Africans must be tackled* 2001: 5) states the following objectives which have to be met in its legislation related to tolerance and immigration:

- "The promotion of a human-rights based culture in both government and civil society in respect of migration control;
- To prevent and deter xenophobia in any other sphere of government, state organs and at community level;
- To promote economic development by allowing South African business to employ foreign citizens where necessary;
- To facilitate the movement of students and academic staff within SADC for study, teaching and research;
- To facilitate South Africa's compliance with its international obligations towards refugees and migrants "

Tolerance is an essential component for a sustainable democracy and the moral well being of society.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT AND HYPOTHESES

It appears as if there is a relatively high level of intolerance among South Africans towards immigrants. This study aims at establishing whether there has in fact been an increase in intolerance/xenophobia in South Africa since 1990 (the beginning of the transition period) until 2001. If these levels of intolerance show an increase over time, this may indicate that there will be more conflict between South Africans and immigrants.

Based on the above discussion the following attitudinal patterns can be predicted. It is expected that the poorer and previously disadvantaged South African communities

would feel more threatened by immigrants. It is anticipated that the unemployed and poorer people (especially blacks and coloureds) would be less tolerant towards immigrants in South Africa. It could also be expected that, as unemployment increases, intolerance and xenophobic attitudes would increase as well. Therefore, the assumption is that the feelings of intolerance among the more threatened groups (such as the unemployed and the previously disadvantaged, poorer communities) would have increased from 1990 to 2001.

Against this background, the following hypotheses will guide this research:

- People from previously disadvantaged groups will have higher levels of intolerance than those from previously advantaged groups;
- People with lower educational levels will have higher levels of intolerance than those who are more highly educated;
- Unemployed people and those people in low-skilled jobs will have higher levels of intolerance.

1.3. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study looks at intolerance directed towards immigrants from 1990 until 2001. It will take the shape of a longitudinal study in the form of time series research. This refers to the same type of information being collected from groups of people over different time periods (Neuman, 1999: 31).

A quantitative approach will be followed. This approach entails researching objective facts. It would in turn be more value free and independent of the context than qualitative research. Reliability is also very important and the researcher will be detached in the actual process (Neuman, 1999: 16). The quantitative approach will allow the precise measurement of the data and, since standard procedures will be used, replication can be assumed (Neuman, 1999: 123). The method involves utilising existing statistics to describe the levels of intolerance in South Africa from 1990 until

2001. It will take the form of a descriptive study with the focus on xenophobic attitudes. The aim would be to provide a detailed and accurate picture of intolerance and xenophobia in South Africa (Neuman, 1999: 22).

This study will use the World Value Surveys conducted in South Africa in 1990, 1995 and 2001. It will take the form of secondary analysis research, which refers to the usage of already existing statistics, which are re-examined by the researcher by using different statistical procedures (Neuman, 1999: 35). Since the researcher did not gather the data, the existing information limits the issues and questions that the researcher can address. The researcher also lacks the knowledge of the process by which the data were attained, which may be susceptible to error (Neuman, 1999: 311).

On the other hand, using secondary data analysis allows the researcher to study any topic on which data have been gathered. Since the data had already been collected, it is relatively inexpensive and allows comparisons across nations and different time periods. It therefore also facilitates replication (Neuman, 1999: 301, 305). In this sense, the usage of already existing data is appropriate, since it aims at a description of social, political and economic changes over a period of time (Neuman, 1999: 305). In this study these changes will be related to the attitudes of intolerance towards immigrants.

1.4. CHAPTER OUTLAY

Chapter Two will include the conceptualisation of key concepts used in this study. It will focus on xenophobia (as a form of intolerance) and immigrants. The operationalisation of the study will include the questions used from the data set. A brief overview of the World Value Surveys will be given.

Chapter Three will provide a brief discussion of the findings in the analysis. This chapter will also aim at establishing and describing whether there is a growing trend of intolerance towards immigrants.

Chapter Four provides concluding remarks and a brief summary of what has been determined in this study. It will also focus on future prospects for research on South Africans, immigrants and the relationship between these two parties.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALISATION AND OPERATIONALISATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will deal with intolerance in South Africa by first focusing on the conceptualisation and operationalisation of key terms used in analysing intolerance. Conceptualisation and operationalisation are essential for establishing whether South Africans are becoming more intolerant towards immigrants.

This chapter focuses on the conceptualisation of the key terms used, namely *immigrants* and *xenophobia* as a form of intolerance. A description is given of other key terms applied in the questionnaire based on their relevance and applicability. The key items are *race*, *education* and *category of employment*. This will be followed by a brief overview of the World Value Surveys considering its origin, methodology and sampling methods. The next section will be the operationalisation of the study, which will include specific questions from the World Value Surveys of 1990, 1995 and 2001.

2.2. CONCEPTUALISATION

Conceptualising is important since it establishes what exactly is being analysed. Conceptualising is also important since it clearly defines the terms used in the hypotheses. This, in turn, will create greater clarity relating to that which needs to be studied and will provide greater accuracy when the hypotheses are assessed (Leary, 1995: 14). According to Neuman (1999: 158), "conceptualisation is the process of taking a construct and refining it by giving it a conceptual or theoretical definition. A conceptual definition is a definition in abstract, theoretical terms. It refers to ideas or constructs". This research will establish whether there has been an increase in

intolerance exercised by certain groups in South African society towards immigrants. Therefore, a closer look at immigrants as well as the nature of intolerance is essential.

2.2.1. Immigrants

The categories of people who cross South African borders consist of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and migrants. They include those who are in the country illegally and legally.

The purpose of this study is to focus on one specific group, namely immigrants. "Immigrants" refer to those seeking permanent residence in a country. They can either be permanent residents or naturalised citizens. Immigrants can be legal (having the proper documentation) or illegal. The latter are more commonly referred to as illegal aliens (Harris, 2001: 19). Immigration "refers to the movement of people from their home state to another state, usually to seek employment, improve wages, to join family members or to escape from adverse living conditions. The immigrant is distinct from the refugee in that the movement is voluntary rather than forced... Immigration may also pose security problems in the receiving state where cultural and sociological differences between the host and the sender are great" (Evans and Newnham, 1990: 171)

The term, "immigrant" generally overlaps with the other categories crossing the borders. This happens mainly because refugees and migrants could also be granted permanent status under certain conditions (Harris, 2001: 19). According to Campbell, people do not view legal immigrants as positive contributors to the national process because of the negative depiction of illegals in the media and the failure to make a distinction between the categories (such as legal and illegal) (www.up.ac.za/academic/cenpops/Alphabetic.doc).

2.2.2. Intolerance, tolerance and xenophobia

Tolerance can be defined as "the willingness and ability to allow something that one dislikes, or disagrees without interfering...'the quality of letting other people say or do as they like, even if you do not agree or approve of it'" (Korzhov in Koralewicz, 1999: 8) (See also Gouws, 1996: 23; Gibson, 1996: 6). It therefore includes lenience towards disliked groups. Intolerance, on the other hand, can be characterised by conflict-ridden situations and common misunderstandings; furthermore, "the spread of anomie and feelings of helplessness very often bring about the emergence and widening tendencies towards isolationism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia" (Korzhov in Koralewicz, 1999: 10). Consequently in a country such as South Africa, which is a relatively new democracy and where some groups may feel easily threatened, this situation may arise.

Tolerance relates to how willing people are to accept their opponents and extend civil liberties to them. Thus, "tolerance is the willingness to extend freedoms to those who are different" (Gouws, 1996: 23). In another example, Crick (in Chong, 1994:23) defines tolerance "as the capacity to endure, suffer, or put up with something that one disapproves of or dislikes. Tolerance in this view is a kind of self-restraint".

According to Sullivan *et al.* (1979: 748), "tolerance implies a willingness to 'put up with' those things that one rejects. Politically it implies a willingness to permit the expression of those ideas or interests that one opposes". Tolerance to a certain extent, then, presumes antipathy toward a target group (in Gibson, 1992: 562). Sullivan *et al.* (1981: 94-98) also state that tolerance can be influenced by social determinants (e.g. education, social status, occupation and age), psychological determinants (e.g. self-esteem, type of personality and ideology) and political determinants (e.g. support for democratic norms and relating to a group as a threat).

Crick in Gouws (1993: 17) states that democracy brings about competition for scarce resources and tolerance creates the opportunity to compete. Tolerance can therefore

be a necessary precondition for a free society. Crick (in Sullivan *et al.*, 1979: 784) defines tolerance as "a willingness to permit the expression of those ideas or interests that one opposes. A tolerant regime, then, like a tolerant individual, is one that allows a wide berth to those ideas that challenge its way of life". It therefore implies the existence of some opposition or disagreement that is seen as a stimulus to tolerance. According to Gibson (1996: 6), "tolerance is the endomorphine of the democratic body politic; it is essential to the management of the conflict that is so central to pluralistic politics. Without tolerance it is difficult for widespread political discussion and competition to emerge, and unbridled competition contributes mightily to democratic politics".

Intolerance refers to the dislike of those who are different. In this study intolerance will refer to the dislike of foreigners or non-nationals. Xenophobia is therefore a key term, since it refers to the dislike of foreigners specifically and is consequently a form of intolerance.

Xenophobia represents a "fear, dislike, distrust or intolerance of foreigners either as individuals or groups. It is closely associated with extreme forms of nationalism and ethnocentrism and often manifests itself in expressions of hostility towards outsiders... It is often linked with isolationism" (Evans and Newnham, 1990: 428-429). According to Tshitereke (1999) in Harris (2001: 52)"xenophobia represents a deep fear and dislike of the unknown. This subjective fear and absolute dislike seems to have translated itself into intense tension and violence by South Africans towards immigrants".

Reitzes (in Whitman, 2000:62) states that the noticeable increase in intolerance in the form of xenophobia started becoming evident during the 1994 election. Many violent attacks were made on those perceived to be illegal immigrants. During this time "alleged immigrants were also harassed by state officials and police, imprisoned without trial, and ... subject to corrupt practices" (Reitzes in Whitman, 2000:62). She states that these feelings were triggered by the fact that there was no more Apartheid government to blame for the conditions many disadvantaged communities had to

endure in South Africa. The blame now shifted to other threats such as foreigners. Further, Reitzes (in Whitman, 2000:62) states that the rationale for it mainly being black South Africans who display these attitudes could be that the immigrants are perceived to be a threat to the grants South Africans (mainly black people) had been given by the new government, such as health services and housing.

Harris (2001: 40) also states that "in general, South Africa's public culture has become more intolerant and xenophobic, and politicians often make unsubstantiated and inflammatory statements that the 'deluge' of immigrants is responsible for the current crime wave, rising unemployment, or even the spread of diseases ... migrants have increasingly become the target of abuse at the hands of South African citizens, as well as members of the police, the army and the Department of Home Affairs".

Cosatu (in South African Migration Project, 2001: 1) established that xenophobia and other intolerant attitudes increased dramatically in South African society over the last number of years. Black South Africans have also directed most of this 'hatred' towards immigrants of African origin. Of the immigrants, it is those who are undocumented who suffer the most. It is apparent that nowadays little distinction is made by members of the general population between immigrants who are here illegally and legally, refugees and migrants.

Minnaar and Hough (1996: 173) state that "the influx of illegal aliens to South Africa has seen the growth of the public expression of xenophobia (the fear, hatred or distrust of strangers or foreigners) since the April 1994 elections". Harris (2001: 44) concurs and notes: "amongst those South Africans who do have knowledge and awareness about foreigners, there seems to be a marked lack of concern about their rights and plight. This lack of concern, coupled with limited knowledge, implies a huge potential for ongoing xenophobia and public actions against foreigners". Harris (2001: 44) explains xenophobia in terms of three hypotheses, namely the scapegoat hypothesis, the isolation hypothesis and the bio-cultural hypothesis.

The *scapegoat hypothesis* places xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. According to Harris (2001: 53), "this hypothesis suggests that South Africa's political transition to democracy has highlighted the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country". South Africans may feel that they are getting less than they are entitled to. The foreigner then becomes the scapegoat and is blamed for the social ills. This frustration is then directed in the form of anger and xenophobia towards non-national minorities.

The *isolation hypothesis* relates to South Africa being excluded from the international community during the Apartheid period. After the borders had been opened (with the commencement of the new regime), people came into contact with foreigners. According to Hobsbawm (1996) in Harris (2001: 53) "xenophobia is understood as the product of social transition, as a defence against the anxiety induced by 'the unknown'".

The *bio-cultural hypothesis* can be used to explain why some people are most intolerant towards foreigners from other African countries. Its main emphasis is on otherness in the context of biological, cultural as well as language differences (Harris, 2001: 54).

In this study, however, the attitudes of intolerance will not be explained according to Harris's hypotheses based on xenophobia. This study is descriptive and focuses on specific groups expressing intolerant attitudes in South African society based on race, level of education and category of employment.

It is clear that intolerance and xenophobia have become a growing problem. By May 2001 the problem had escalated to such proportions that President Mbeki addressed this issue by personally stating that South Africans must be "vigilant against any evidence of xenophobia against African immigrants". He stated that it was unacceptable to treat those entering the country as enemies. The topic of xenophobia and intolerance was also discussed in the World Conference on Racism, Racial

Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance held in August 2001 (Crush, 2001:1).

Even though the government had created many strategies to inform the public about xenophobia, the message does not seem to have reached many people, especially in the poorer communities. The incidents still continue and foreign people are continually harassed and exploited (see the discussion in Chapter 1). Many South Africans still persist blaming foreigners for the problems in the country, especially unemployment. The success of the strategies and policies by government is still unclear.

2.2.3. Hypotheses and important concepts

The emphasis cannot merely be on South African society as a whole, but rather on specific groups within the country expressing intolerant attitudes toward immigrants. The hypotheses guiding this study indicate the specific categories in society that will be focused on.

Racial identity is a key concept since it is expected that in South Africa previously disadvantaged people will have higher levels of intolerance than those who have benefited in the past. People from previously disadvantaged communities would include those from the black, Indian and coloured groups in South Africa. These people may feel more intolerant because they could feel more threatened by the immigrants taking away their benefits such as social grants from the government. The emphasis will therefore be placed on racial group, since it has been indicated (in the studies done by Crush (2001) mentioned in Chapter one) that many black South Africans have been involved in the attacks against immigrants. In addition, "in the following analysis race has been chosen as an explanatory variable not only because of the racialised context, but also on the basis of an exploratory analysis (Chaids) which indicated the significance of race as a predictor for attitudinal variance" (Kotzé, 2001: 8).

It has been hypothesised that people with lower education will have higher levels of intolerance than those who are better educated and hence education is another key concept. In Stouffer's study (1955: 90), it was found that people who are more educated are more informed and feel less threatened. Therefore these groups would be able to rationalise the situation more effectively and be more tolerant.

Employment is an important concept. Many South Africans feel threatened and claim that immigrants take away their jobs. It is therefore expected that the unemployed will be more intolerant. This study will also be based on categories of employment, namely the employed and unemployed.

2.3. THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY

2.3.1. Introduction

The World Values Surveys (WVS) are used for the purposes of understanding the relationship between intolerance and immigrants. It is a longitudinal study which investigates socio-cultural and political change on a worldwide basis. It was originally based on the European Values Surveys and was extended to include South Africa in 1981. The surveys have been conducted worldwide by social scientists and aided by local funding.

According to Kotzé (2001: 1-2), the aim of these surveys is to explore how belief systems are changing and how these changes impact on societies socially, economically and politically. In the second wave (1990 survey) cultural changes were noticed and in the following waves these surveys wanted to monitor these changes. The second to fourth wave surveys (1990, 1995 and 2001 surveys) were carried out globally as to assess the cultural changes. The third and fourth waves (1995 and 2001)

were aimed at devoting special attention to changes in non-Western democracies as well as in the political culture of the third wave democracies.

2.3.2. The World Value Surveys in South Africa

The WVSs used in this study are the second wave (conducted in October/November 1990), the third wave (conducted in September/October 1995) and the fourth wave (conducted from March to May 2001). They were conducted by Markinor and included respondents who were sixteen years and older.

It is questionable whether the samples were representative. In the first three waves (1981, 1990 and 1995) the white sample was large and nationally representative. The coloured and Indian samples were small and came from the Cape Town and Durban areas respectively. In the first two waves (1981 and 1990) the black sample was particularly small. In 1995 the black sample became more representative, with a spread across the new nine provinces. Only in 2001 did the survey use a sample which could be regarded as nationally representative of all the racial groups, as well as rural and urban groups (Kotzé, 2001: 3-4). However, all the samples were weighted to the full population, which makes the final data set representative of the population.

The background in South Africa at the time of the surveys was as follows. The 1990 survey was conducted in the presence of rising levels of protests against the Apartheid government. The 1995 survey followed the first democratic election and the 2001 survey was done within a relatively stable democratic environment (Kotzé, 2001:5). In South Africa the number of people interviewed were as follows: in 1990 N[6]=2736, in 1995 N=2935 and in 2001 N=3000. This has been weighted[7] to be representative of the entire population.

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[6] This refers to the number of respondents within each survey, therefore, the size of the sample.

[7] Weighting implies that the researcher values or weights some items more than others. The size of the weight depends on theoretical assumptions, the theoretical definition or a statistical technique (Neuman 1999: 179). The weighting factor is therefore "a mathematical factor used to make a disproportionate sample representative" (Johnson and Joslyn, 1995: 193).

2.4. OPERATIONALISATION

Operationalisation is the process of developing operational definitions. An operational definition is "the concrete and specific definition of something in terms of the operations by which observations are to be categorised" (Badger, 1994: 292). Operationalisation includes defining the particular concepts used in the study by stating how these concepts are measured. It therefore links the concept to more concrete terms, which can be measured (Leary, 1995: 15).

In establishing whether there is a growing trend of intolerance (and xenophobia) over the 1990 to 2001 period, the World Value Surveys of 1990, 1995 and 2001 have been used. The questions used in each of these surveys in analysing intolerance will be divided into dependent and independent variables.

The dependent variables vary in intensity based on the influence of a specific independent variable. According to Neuman (1999: 127), "the variable that is the effect or is the result or outcome of another variable is the dependent variable...it therefore 'depends on' the cause" (which is the independent variable). These are the dependent variables in the forms of questions used in the surveys:

- "Please say, for each of the following, how important it is in your life: Work?"
- "Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants'"
- "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbours: Immigrants/foreign workers?"
- "How about people from other countries coming here to work? Which one of the following do you think the government should do?"

These dependent variables will vary regarding the specific level of intolerance. The aim would be to see what the responses to the questions were and how this could be an indication of intolerance.

The independent variables cause changes within the dependent variables. According to Neuman (1999: 127), "the cause variable, or the one that identifies forces or conditions that act on something else, is the independent variable…it is 'independent of' the causes". These are the independent variables:

- "To which ethnic group do you belong?"
- "What is the highest educational level that you have attained?"
- "Are you employed or not?"

The independent variables are those which do not change, but influence the way respondents feel about immigrants and therefore reveal the respondents' levels of tolerance and intolerance.

2.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the conceptualisation of terms used in the study, namely *immigrants* and *xenophobia* (as a form of intolerance). A brief overview of the World Values Surveys was given. The operationalisation and the specific questions used to measure the levels of intolerance amongst South Africans have been addressed.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will describe how tolerant or intolerant South Africans are towards immigrants. The analysis is based on responses given by respondents in the World Value Surveys of 1990, 1995 and 2001 in response to specific questions. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the main findings of the surveys.

3.2. THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLES

Table 3.1: The Number of Respondents within each World Values Survey

1990 World Values Survey	1995 World Values Survey	2001 World Values Survey
2736 respondents	2899 respondents	3000 respondents

Table 3.1. gives the number of respondents within each survey.

3.3. RACIAL IDENTITY

The main sentiment of intolerance is derived from certain people feeling that immigrants are threatening and/or 'stealing' their jobs. Therefore the importance of work is an important dependent variable, since it would indicate how important jobs are for South Africans and in turn indirectly relates to how tolerant people would be towards immigrants. The more that work is regarded as important, the more immigrants would be perceived as a threat. People would then be more intolerant towards immigrants. It would therefore be interesting to see how important work is in comparison with other aspects in the lives of respondents.

Table 3.2 is a representation of the importance of work, family, friends and acquaintances, leisure time, politics and religion according to the different race groups in 1990, 1995 and 2001. The question was as follows: "Please indicate for each of the following aspects in your life, how important it is". The options given were: "very important", "quite important", "not very important", "not at all important" and "don't know". The respondents stated that these aspects were very important in their lives.

Table 3.2: Respondents who stated the following aspects were 'very important' in their lives in 1990

	Black	N	White	N	Coloured	N	Indian	N	Total	N
Work	86,8%	950	53,3%	626	76,5%	153	86,0%	173	78,6%	1902
Family	89,2%	981	89,4%	1064	94,5%	189	96,0%	190	90,0%	2424
Friends	23,2%	254	23,6%	278	20,5%	41	32,0%	64	23,2%	637
Leisure time	29,4%	321	28,2%	331	26,0%	52	25,5%	51	28,6%	755
Politics	33,8%	353	15,5%	179	5,1%	10	19,1%	35	26,0%	577
Religion	66,0%	721	58,1%	690	79,0%	158	76,5%	155	66,2%	1724

In 1990, in comparison with the other aspects mentioned as very important, 90,0% of respondents stated that family was very important in their lives. This was followed by 78,6% of respondents stating that work was very important in their lives and 66,2% stating that religion was very important in their lives. For the majority of the respondents work is very important and it is therefore nearly as important as religion and family.

As far as the race groups were concerned, there was a very strong sense of the importance of work among respondents from the black, Indian and coloured groups. It was the highest among black respondents, with 86,8% of respondents stating that work was very important in their lives. Only 53,3% of white respondents stated that work was very important, making it the lowest percentage. This could be because this

survey was conducted during the transition period in South Africa and that for the established white group work was not that important. This could also be attributed to the fact that there are low levels of unemployment among whites. For the other groups work was very important and 86,8% of black, 86,0% of Indian and 76,5% of coloured respondents stated work was very important in their lives

Table 3.3. shows that in 1995 work was again very important in the lives of the respondents. There has been an increase in the importance of work (from 78,6% in 1990 to 79,4% in 1995) as well as in the number of respondents stating that family and religion were important in their lives.

Table 3.3: Respondents who stated the following aspects were 'very important' in their lives in 1995

	Black	**N**	**White**	**N**	**Coloured**	**N**	**Indian**	**N**	**Total**	**N**
Work	84,1%	1351	60,3%	441	73,1%	274	84,1%	165	79,4%	2231
Family	92,7%	1488	93,8%	678	95,3%	365	98,9%	193	93,3%	2724
Friends	20,9%	358	50,2%	370	25,5%	93	44,4%	81	26,8%	902
Leisure time	27,6%	471	45,3%	324	37,5%	147	35,4%	68	31,4%	1010
Politics	20,9%	368	12,3%	83	10,8%	35	15,5%	32	18,6%	518
Religion	66,1%	1074	68,0%	509	79,5%	300	83,8%	162	68,0%	2045

A year after the first democratic elections there was a slight increase in the number of respondents stating work was very important. There was a relatively high increase in the white group, where the number of respondents rose by 7% from 53,3% in 1990 to 60,3% in 1995. This might be because many whites felt more insecure about their jobs after the ANC government came into power. There is a slight decrease in the black, Indian and coloured groups, with 84,1% of both black and Indian and 73,1% of coloured respondents stating work was very important in their lives. The decrease in these groups could indicate that they were less insecure than the white group.

However, the number of respondents within the previously disadvantaged groups who felt that work was very important is still relatively higher than the white group.

Table 3.4. shows that in 2001 work was very important in the lives of 73,9% of respondents. This is second to 94,5% stating that family is 'very important'. Work is once again more important than religion, for which 72,6% of respondents stated it was very important.

Table 3.4: Respondents who stated the following aspects were 'very important' in their lives in 2001

	Black	N	White	N	Coloured	N	Indian	N	Total	N
Work	87,4%	1103	54,8%	493	79,2%	395	75,6%	226	73,9%	2217
Family	94,9%	1237	92,8%	834	95,4%	476	96,3%	288	94,5%	2835
Friends	26,2%	342	57,2%	514	31,5%	157	39,5%	118	37,7%	1131
Leisure time	28,0%	365	50,3%	452	36,1%	180	33,8%	101	36,6%	1098
Politics	19,5%	254	7,0%	63	7,6%	38	7,0%	21	12,5%	376
Religion	67,8%	883	67,6%	608	86,6%	432	85,3%	225	72,6%	2178

In the racial groups, the number of white respondents stating work was very important in their lives decreased to 54,8%. There was also a decrease in the Indian group to 75,6% of respondents stating that work was very important in their lives. The black and coloured groups, however, showed a slight increase. The black group had the highest number of respondents (84,7%) stating that work is very important. The coloured group followed, with 79,2% of respondents.

In general, work was very important for 78,6% of respondents in 1990, 79,4% in 1995 and 73,9% in 2001. From 1990 to 1995, there was a slight increase in the number of respondents who stated that work was very important, but this decreased again from 79,4% to 73,9% in 2001. The importance of work from 1990 until 2001 the highest

among the black group. The lowest number of respondents stating that work was very important came from the white group. Since work is more important for the black group, it could be expected that they would be more intolerant towards immigrants, because immigrants are perceived to pose a threat to jobs.

The scarcity of employment opportunities was mentioned as a reason for intolerance. Table 3.5. is a representation of the racial dispersion of the number of respondents agreeing with the statement that "With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants". The following options were given: "agree", "neither agree or disagree", "disagree" and "don't know".

Table 3.5: ***Respondents who 'agree' with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants according to race groups in 1990, 1995 and 2001.***

	1990	**N**	**1995**	**N**	**2001**	**N**
Black	72,7%	756	78,9%	1 236	78,7%	1 025
White	68,9%	841	83,0%	603	80,2%	721
Coloured	85,1%	165	87,3%	330	89,4%	446
Indian	83,3%	161	88,0%	175	92,0%	275
Total number agreeing	73,7%	1 896	80,5%	2 344	82,2%	2 467

Statement: "With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants"

From 1990 to 2001 there was a drastic increase in the number of respondents agreeing with the statement from 73,7% in 1990 to 80,5% in 1995 and 82,2% in 2001. Focusing on the number of respondents agreeing with the statement in each racial group, the following was revealed in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

In 1990 the highest number of respondents agreeing with this statement was 85,1% of coloured respondents. This group was followed by 83,3% of Indians and 72,7% of blacks. The lowest number was 68,9% of white respondents who agreed with the statement. Therefore, agreement with the statement was the highest among the previously disadvantaged groups. Since more respondents from these groups agreed with the statement, this could indicate that they feel immigrants compete with them for employment. This could suggest that they would be more intolerant towards immigrants.

In 1995 the highest number agreeing with the statement was 87,3% of Indian respondents. This was followed by 88,0% of coloured and 83,0% of white respondents. The black group was the lowest, with 78,9% of respondents agreeing with the statement.

In 2001 the black and white respondents who agreed with the statement decreased to 78,7% and 80,2% of respondents, respectively. The coloured and Indian groups increased to 89,4% and 92,0%, respectively. Of those who agreed with the statement, the highest number came from the Indian group.

It appears that the previously disadvantaged groups are more intolerant. However, in 2001 the black group appeared to be more tolerant than the other groups. In general there was an increase of 8,5% (from 1990 to 2001) in the total number of respondents agreeing with the statement. This is a relatively strong increase over an eleven-year period.

Another question relating to intolerance is the following: "On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbours?" The choices provided were "mentioned" and "not mentioned". Table 3.6. shows the groups and the number of respondents mentioning the following groups in the 1995 and 2001 surveys.

Table 3.6: Groups mentioned by respondents as those not wanted as neighbours in 1995 and 2001

GROUP	1995	N	2001	N
People with a criminal record	65%	1 885	58,8%	1 764
People of a different race	11,4%	331	19,6%	589
Heavy drinkers	62,0%	1 797	55,2%	1 655
Emotionally unstable people	39,6%	1 147	41,9%	1 256
Immigrants/Foreign Workers	**18,5%**	**536**	**25,4%**	**761**
People who have AIDS	38,2%	1 108	24,7%	742
Drug addicts	74,6%	2 162	66,6%	1 999
Homosexuals	49,4%	1 431	42,7%	1 281

In comparison with the other groups, only a few respondents (18,5% in 1995 and 25,4% in 2001) mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours. From 1995 to 2001 there was an increase in the number of respondents mentioning "people of a different race", "emotionally unstable people" and "immigrants or foreign workers". The 7% increase in the number of respondents mentioning 'immigrants' and 8% increase in those mentioning 'people of a different race' could indicate that people have become more intolerant.

The racial breakdown of those who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers is interesting, since it reveals which race groups appear more intolerant towards immigrants and foreign workers. Table 3.7. shows the number of respondents within each race group who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group they would not want as neighbours.

Table 3.7: Racial breakdown of the respondents who mentioned they would not like immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours in 1995 and 2001

RACE	1995	N	2001	N
Black	23,6%	375	36,1%	471
White	8,7%	63	16,7%	150
Coloured	21,5%	83	20,0%	100
Indian	7,7%	15	13,4%	40
Total number mentioning	18,5%	536	25,4%	761

In 1995 the highest number of respondents who mentioned immigrants or foreign workers was 23,6% of black respondents. This was followed by 21,5% of coloured respondents. The lowest number of respondents came from the Indian group, with 7,7%. In 2001 there was an increase in the number mentioning immigrants and foreign workers within all the race groups. The black group was once again the highest at 36,1%, followed by the coloured group with 20,0% of respondents and the white group with 16,7% of respondents. The Indian group had the lowest, with 13,4% of respondents. It should be noted that the highest increase from 1995 to 2001 in a specific race group was the black group with an increase of 12,5%. The highest numbers of respondents who stated they would not like immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours came from the black and coloured groups. These groups appear to be more intolerant towards immigrants.

The next question related to intolerance is the following: "How about people from other countries coming here to work? Which one of the following do you think the government should do?". This question clearly displays how the respondent relates to people coming here to work and could indicate levels of intolerance. Here the following options were given: "Let anyone come who wants to, let people come as long as there are jobs available, place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here, and, prohibit people from coming here from other countries". The last

option would therefore be indicative of intolerant attitudes. Table 3.8 lists the responses in 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.8: Responses to what government should do with people coming here to work in 1995 and 2001

	1995	**N**	**2001**	**N**
Let anyone come who wants to	5,9%	170	4,7%	141
Let people come as long as jobs available	28,4%	823	30,6%	918
Place strict limits on the number	47,9%	1 388	41,6%	1 249
Prohibit people from coming	15,7%	455	18,9%	566
Not answered	0,0%	1	0,0%	0
Don't know	2,1%	62	4,2%	126
TOTAL	100,0%	2 899	100,0%	3 000

Question: "What should government do with people from other countries coming here to work?"

In 1995 and 2001 the majority of respondents (47,9% in 1995 and 41,6% in 2001) stated that "government should place stricter limits on the number of foreigners" who can come here. In 1995 5,9% of respondents and in 2001 4,7% stated "government should let anyone come who wants to". There was a 2,2% increase from 1995 to 2001 in the number of respondents who stated "government should let people come as long as jobs are available". There was also an increase in the number of people who stated "government should prohibit people from other countries coming here" from 1995 (15,7%) to 2001 (18,9%). This is a 3,2% increase in a five-year period. Overall, those who stated that they want government to "place strict limits" on the number of people coming here and government should "prohibit people from coming" were by far the majority, with 63,6% of respondents in 1995 and 60,5% of respondents in 2001.

Table 3.9. provides the racial breakdown of those who stated that government should prohibit people from coming here from other countries to work in 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.9: ***Racial breakdown of respondents who stated "government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work" in 1995 and 2001***

RACE	1995	N	2001	N
Black	19,7%	314	27,7%	361
White	6,6%	48	9,7%	87
Coloured	15,8%	61	16,2%	81
Indian	16,3%	32	12,4%	37

In both 1995 and 2001 the highest number of respondents in a specific race group stating that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here were from the black group - with 19,7% in 1995 and 27,7% in 2001. There has thus been an increase of 8% in this particular group over this period and this could indicate that the black group has grown more intolerant towards people from other countries coming here to work. The other groups, namely coloured and Indian, also have high levels of intolerance towards people from other countries coming here. The lowest group was the white group, with 6,6% of respondents in 1995 and 9,7% 2001.

3.4. EDUCATION

Education is a key variable in explaining intolerance. According to Stouffer (1955: 90), people with higher levels of education would be more tolerant, since education allows exposure to new groups and differing views and therefore people who are more educated would be less threatened by immigrants (see Weissberg, 1998). This would also relate to people with higher levels of education having more highly skilled employment. It is predicted that those with lower levels of education would be less

tolerant towards immigrants, since these people feel immigrants are threatening their jobs and livelihood.

Educational level would influence the importance of work in the lives of the respondents. Table 3.10. provides a cross-tabulation of the different educational levels and those, who according to their race, stated that work was very important in their lives. These are the figures for 1990, 1995 and 2001. The table presents the levels of education of respondents in the race groups who stated that work was 'very important' in their lives.

According to the race groups, in 1990 54,6% of white, 54,7% of black, 52,3% of Indian and 54,2% of coloured respondents had a secondary level of education. This is the highest number of respondents in each racial group.

In 1995 the highest number within each racial group stating work was very important in their lives were 55,1% of whites, 46,4% of blacks, 63,9% of Indians and 57,0% of coloureds with a secondary education.

In 2001 the trend looks similar. The highest number of respondents who stated that work was very important was 63,5% of whites, 55,9% of blacks, 69,9% of Indians and 67,6% of coloureds. They all had a secondary education.

Within the education groups, it appears as if those with secondary education feel that work is more important in their lives from 1990 until 2001. Of white respondents with a tertiary level of education 45,1% in 1990, 44,9% in 1995 and 35,7% in 2001 stated work was very important in their lives. There has been a gradual decline in this regard in this group over the years.

Table 3.10: Respondents who indicated work was 'very important' in their lives according to their education levels and racial group in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

	1990					1995					2001				
Level of Education	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
No schooling	5,7%		2,6%	4,5%	4,5%	12,2%		4,6%	3,1%	9,9%	7,3%	0,2%	1,3%		3,9%
Primary education	36,7%	0,5%	36,6%	29,5%	31,5%	37,1%		30,2%	16,8%	31,6%	29,0%	0,6%	20,5%	18,6%	20,1%
Secondary education	54,7%	54,6%	54,2%	52,3%	54,5%	46,4%	55,1%	57,0%	63,9%	48,7%	55,9%	63,5%	67,6%	69,9%	61,1%
Tertiary education	2,8%	45,1%	6,5%	13,6%	9,5%	4,3%	44,9%	8,2%	16,2%	9,8%	7,8%	35,7%	10,6%	11,5%	14,9%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	950	616	153	173	1 892	1 351	441	274	165	2 231	1 103	493	395	226	2 217

From 1990 to 2001 it appears as if a higher number of respondents with a secondary education in each race group felt that work is very important in their lives. Since work is so important in their lives, immigrants, who pose a threat to this important aspect of their lives, would be disliked. It can be expected that people who have a secondary education would be more intolerant towards immigrants.

Table 3.11. shows those respondents who agreed with the following statement: "With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants". The following options were given: "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree" and "don't know". The figures listed are for 1990, 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.11: ***Respondents who 'agreed' with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants when jobs are scarce in 1990, 1995 and 2001***

	1990	**1995**	**2001**
No schooling	74,2%	81,4%	83,3%
Primary education	73,2%	81,5%	84,3%
Secondary education	75,3%	80,5%	81,6%
Tertiary education	67,9%	80,7%	82,0%
Total	73,7%	80,9%	82,2%

There has been a gradual increase at all the different levels of education among those agreeing with this statement. In 1990 the highest number of respondents who agreed with this statement was within the secondary education group (75,3%) followed by those with no schooling at 74,2%. The lowest number was within the tertiary education group at 67,9%.

In 1995 the highest number was within the primary education group (81,5%) followed by those people with no schooling at 81,4%. These groups were also amongst the

highest for those people agreeing with the statement in 2001 with the primary education group at 84,3% and those with no schooling at 83,3%.

The number of those who agree with the statement is high in general. Those who would agree with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans are mostly in those groups who have a lower education. Since these people are in lower-skilled jobs and immigrants increase the competition for employment, they could also be more threatened by immigrants and would therefore arguably be more intolerant.

Table 3.12. is a cross-tabulation of the different levels of education, race group and the number of respondents agreeing with the following statement: "With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants". The figures listed indicate the respondents who 'agree' with this statement in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

The highest number of respondents who agree with the statement in 1990 consisted of 55,0% with secondary education, which decreased to 47,6% of respondents in 1995. In 2001 there was a dramatic increase to 60,4% of respondents with secondary education agreeing that government should give priority to South Africans over immigrants.

The largest number of respondents in each race group who agreed with the statement had a secondary level of education. In 1990 55,0% of white, 54,5% of black, 56,1% of Indian and 57,0% of coloured respondents who agreed with the statement had a secondary education. In 1995 43,6% of black, 58,3% of white, 55,7% of coloured and 60,6% of Indian respondents who agreed with the statement had a secondary education. In 2001 the highest number of respondents agreeing with the statement was in the secondary education group: 63,4% of white respondents, 53,7% of black, 67,3% of Indian and 67,0% of coloured respondents.

Table 3.12: Respondents who 'agree' with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants by level of education and race group in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

	1990					1995					2001				
Level of Education	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
No schooling	5,3%		3,0%	2,4%	3,8%	14,7%		5,5%	4,1%	11,2%	7,8%	0,1%	1,8%	1,5%	3,8%
Primary education	37,0%	0,4%	34,5%	26,8%	29,0%	38,1%		31,9%	18,6%	30,8%	31,5%	0,3%	21,7%	20.0%	19,3%
Secondary education	54,5%	55,0%	57,0%	56,1%	55,0%	43,6%	58,3%	55,7%	60,6%	47,6%	53,7%	63,4%	67,0%	67,3%	60,4%
Tertiary education	3,2%	44,6%	5,5%	14,6%	12,1%	3,6%	41,7%	6,9%	16,7%	10,5%	7,0%	36,2%	9,4%	11,3%	16,5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	756	803	165	161	1 885	1 236	603	330	175	2 344	1 025	721	446	275	2 467

It therefore appears as if those with a secondary education would be more intolerant towards immigrants, since this group is the highest in agreement with the statement that "employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants when jobs are scarce".

Table 3.13. is a representation of the levels of education and the number of respondents stating they would not like to have immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours in 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.13: ***Respondents who mentioned they would not like to have immigrants and foreign workers as neighbours by education group in 1995 and 2001***

EDUCATION	1995	N=	2001	N=
No schooling	21,2%	49	34,8%	39
Primary education	22,5%	160	31,1%	176
Secondary education	19,1%	286	25,5%	465
Tertiary education	8,9%	41	16,4%	81

From 1995 to 2001 there was an increase in the number of respondents in all the education groups who mentioned that they would not like immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours. The highest number of respondents came from the primary and secondary education groups, with 22,5% and 21,2% respectively. In 2001 this was once again the case, with the highest number of respondents being those with no schooling (34,8%), followed by those with primary education (31,1%). The lowest group in both years was those with tertiary education, with only 8,9% and 16,4% of respondents in 1995 and 2001. Even in this group there was a dramatic increase of 7,5% over a five-year period.

Table 3.14. shows those respondents who mentioned they would not like to have immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours in 1995 and 2001. The description is based on the level of education of respondents in the racial groups. The more frequently immigrants and foreign workers are mentioned, as a group not wanted as neighbours, the higher the levels of intolerance.

Table 3.14: ***Respondents who mentioned immigrants or foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours by level of education and race in 1995 and 2001***

	1995					2001				
Level of Education	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
No schooling	12,4%		6,7%	7,7%	11,0%	8,3%				5,1%
Primary education	38,5%	1,5%	28,5%	23,1%	34,9%	30,1%		29,0%	12,5%	23,1%
Secondary education	46,6%	75,8%	57,9%	53,8%	49,7%	54,8%	73,3%	65,0%	80,0%	61,1%
Tertiary education	2,5%	22,7%	6,9%	15,4%	4,3%	6,8%	26,7%	6,0%	7,5%	10,6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	375	63	83	15	536	471	150	100	40	761

In 1995, those who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours consisted of 49,7 of respondents with secondary education, 34,9% with primary education, 11,0% with no schooling and 4,3% with tertiary education. In 2001 the trends shifted slightly and included 61,1% with secondary education, 23,1% with primary education, 10,6% with tertiary education and 5,1% with no schooling.

In 1995 the highest number of respondents who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours was 75,8% of whites, 46,6% of blacks,

53,8% of Indians and 57,9% of coloureds with a secondary level of education. In 2001 the highest number of those who agreed with the statement was 73,3% of white, 54,8% of black, 80,0% of Indian and 65,0% of coloured respondents at the secondary education level.

The highest number of respondents in each race group who agreed with the statement came from the secondary education level. In the white race group the figure for those respondents who agree with the statement at the tertiary level of education is also high, with 22,7% in 1995 and 26,7% in 2001 agreeing with the statement. The highest numbers of those agreeing with the statement for blacks, coloured and Indians are from those with secondary and primary levels of education. This could indicate that they are more intolerant, because they have lower levels of education and because of this feel more threatened. For the white group the highest numbers agreeing with the statement are those with secondary and tertiary education levels of education. This could be because the white respondents in general have higher levels of education than the black, coloured and Indian respondents. Overall, the respondents with a secondary level of education appear more intolerant.

Education may also influence the way people feel about people from other countries coming here to work. Table 3.15 indicates the different levels of education and the number of respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work in 1995 and 2001.

In 1995 the highest number of people who stated that government should prohibit people from coming here came from those with secondary education (48,4%), followed by those with no schooling (23,4%) and those with primary education (20,6%). The lowest number of respondents came from within the tertiary education group (7,5%). In 2001 the dispersion was more or less the same, with the secondary education group having the highest number of respondents (56,5%), followed by the primary education group (26,3%). The tertiary education group was the third highest (9,0%); there was a considerable decrease in the number of respondents with no

schooling, making it the lowest group, with 8,1% of respondents stating government should prohibit people from coming here.

Table 3.15 : Respondents who stated government should prohibit people coming here from other countries to work by level of education in 1995 and 2001.

EDUCATION	1995	N=	2001	N=
No schooling	23,4%	54	8,1%	46
Primary education	20,6%	147	26,3%	149
Secondary education	48,4%	220	56,5%	320
Tertiary education	7,5%	34	9,0%	51

Table 3.16. shows respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work, according to race group and level of education.

In 1995 the respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work consisted of 44,2% with secondary education, 33,4% with primary education, 16,3% with no schooling and 5,1% with tertiary education. In 2001 those stating government should prohibit people from coming here included 56,5% with secondary education, 26,3% with primary education, 9,0% with tertiary education and 8,1% with no schooling. Between 1995 and 2001 there was a significant increase in the number of respondents stating that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work in the secondary education group, i.e. 12,3% over a six-year period. The secondary education group therefore had the largest number of respondents stating government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work. They appear to be more intolerant.

Table 3.16: Respondents who stated 'government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work' by race and level of education in 1995 and 2001

	1995					2001				
Level of Education	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
No schooling	18,9%		3,3%	4,4%	16,3%	11,1%	1,1%	4,9%	2,7%	8,1%
Primary education	37,2%		29,4%	35,2%	34,4%	29,6%		33,3%	40,5%	26,3%
Secondary education	39,3%	87,8%	62,1%	51,6%	44,2%	53,7%	72,4%	56,8%	45,9%	56,5%
Tertiary education	4,5%	12,2%	5,2%	8,8%	5,1%	5,5%	26,4%	4,9%	10,8%	9,0%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	314	48	61	32	455	361	87	37	81	566

The largest number of respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from coming in each race group revealed that in 1995 87,8% of white, 39,3% of black, 51,6% of Indian and 62,1% of coloured respondents with secondary education stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work. In 2001 72,4% of white, 53,7% of black, 45,9% of Indian and 56,8% of coloured respondents with secondary education stated government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work. The primary education group respondents were also high in 1995: 37,2% of black, 35,2% of Indian and 29,4% of coloured respondents. The white group with a tertiary education level was high, with 12,2% of respondents. In 2001 the primary education group consisted of 29,6% of black, 40,5% of Indian and 33,3% of Indian respondents. The tertiary education group of whites was high at 26,4% of white respondents.

In the black, coloured and Indian group, the highest number of those who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here was from the

secondary and primary education groups, whereas the highest number for the white group came from those with secondary and tertiary education. This could either be because so few white respondents fell into the primary and no schooling category, or it could indicate that the tertiary education group of whites are more threatened by foreigners coming here to work and that they are therefore more intolerant.

3.5. EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED

As has been stated before, the main problem that immigrants have been blamed for is taking employment from the South African population. It has been hypothesised that people who are unemployed would be more intolerant towards immigrants. Intolerance may also give rise to xenophobic sentiments. Unemployment is an independent variable which impacts directly on the respondents' tolerance levels towards immigrants. Therefore the importance of work and category of employment of the respondents will be analysed. Table 3.17. represents the number of respondents within the employed and unemployed categories who stated work was 'very important' in their lives.

Table 3.17: Employment category and respondents who stated that work was 'very important' in their lives in 1990, 1995 and 2001

Categories[8]	**1990**	**N**	**1995**	**N**	**2001**	**N**
Employed	77,5%	1 627	79,1%	1 776	72,1%	1 616
Unemployed	82,9%	275	80,5%	445	79,3%	601
Total stating work is very important	78,5%	1902	79,4%	2 231	73,9%	2 217

[8] The question used was: "Are you employed or not?". These categories of employed and unemployed have been recoded in that the 'unemployed' category includes only those who explicitly stated they were without employment. The others were regarded as being employed.

In general, there has been a gradual increase in the importance of work from 1990 to 1995 from 78,5% to 79,4%. In 2001 this decreased again to 73,9%. In 1990 work was very important for 82,9% of the unemployed respondents in comparison with 77,5% of the employed respondents. In 1995 work was very important for a higher number of unemployed respondents (80,5%) than employed respondents (79,1%). In 2001, however, there was a decrease in the number of employed respondents in both categories of employment to 79,3% of the unemployed and 72,1% of the employed stating that work was very important in their lives.

Table 3.18: Racial breakdown and category of employment of respondents in 1990, 1995 and 2001

	EMPLOYED	N	UNEMPLOYED	N
1990: Black	73,0%	803	27,0%	297
White	99,2%	1 226	0,8%	10
Coloured	93,0%	186	7,0%	14
Indian	90,2%	182	9,8%	18
Total	81,5%	2 397	18,5%	339
1995: Black	68,7%	1 111	31,3%	481
White	98,8%	717	1,2%	8
Coloured	84,3%	321	15,7%	65
Indian	94,4%	185	5,6%	11
Total	75,4%	2 334	24,6%	565
2001: Black	64,6%	842	35,4%	461
White	90,6%	814	9,4%	84
Coloured	70,3%	351	29,7%	148
Indian	78,3%	234	21,7%	65
Total	74,7%	2 241	25,3%	758

Racial identity and employment are key variables influencing intolerance. Table 3.18 represents the race groups and the category of employment of respondents in 1990,

1995 and 2001. It indicates the number of employed and unemployed in each race group.

There has been a steady increase in the unemployed group from 18,5% in 1990 to 24,6% in 1995 and 25,3% in 2001. In the unemployed black group, there has been a dramatic increase in the unemployed from 27,0% in 1990 to 35,4% in 2001. The same occurs in the coloured group, where the number of unemployed respondents increased from 7,0% in 1990 to 29,7% in 2001. In the Indian group the number of unemployed respondents rose from 9,8% in 1990 to 21,7% in 2001. The number of unemployed white respondents increased from only 0,8% in 1990 to 9,4% in 2001. This trend corresponds with the general statistics.

The level of unemployment is therefore still higher in the previously disadvantaged groups and it has increased dramatically in these groups (black, coloured and Indian) over the eleven-year period. It could be expected that there are higher levels of intolerance among the coloured, Indian and black groups of respondents, since they have higher levels of unemployment and feel more strongly about the importance of work.

It would be interesting to compare the sentiments held by the employed and unemployed regarding the following statement: "With fewer jobs around these days, employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants". Table 3.19. represents those respondents in the employed and unemployed categories who 'agreed' with the statement in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.19: Respondents who 'agreed' with the statement that 'employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants when jobs are scarce' according to employment category in 1990, 1995 and 2001

Employment category	1990	N	1995	N	2001	N
Employed	74,2%	994	82,1%	1 917	82,1%	1 840
Unemployed	71,0%	211	75,6%	427	82,6%	626
Total number agreeing with statement	73,6%	1 205	80,9%	2 344	82,2%	2 466

There was an increase in the number of respondents agreeing with the statement from 73,6% in 1990 to 82,2% in 2001. In the specific employment categories in 1990 74,2% of the employed and 71,0% of the unemployed respondents agreed with the statement. In 1995 82,1% of the employed and 75,6% of the unemployed agreed with the statement. In 2001 there was a significant increase in the unemployed group and 82,6% of the unemployed and 82,1% of the employed agreed with the statement. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed respondents agreeing with the statement. This group is directly affected when employers choose immigrants over South Africans. It could therefore be assumed that the unemployed have become more intolerant.

Table 3.20. provides the race group and category of employment of those agreeing with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

In 1990 those who agreed with the statement consisted of 82,5% employed and 17,5% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents were composed of 99,2% of white, 74,6% of black, 90,0% of Indian and 92,1% of coloured respondents. The unemployed included 0,8% of white, 25,4% of black, 10,0% of Indian and 7,9% of coloured respondents.

Table 3.20: Category of employment and respondents 'agreeing' with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants by racial group in 1990, 1995 and 2001.

	1990					1995					2001				
Employment categories	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
Employed	74,6%	99,2%	92,1%	90,0%	82,5%	70,8%	99,2%	84,5%	93,7%	77,3%	64,4%	91,0%	69,3%	78,5%	74,6%
Unemployed	25,4%	0,8%	7,9%	10,0%	17,5%	29,2%	0,8%	15,5%	6,3%	22,7%	35,6%	9,0%	30,7%	21,5%	25,4%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	756	814	165	161	1 896	1 236	603	330	175	2 344	1 025	720	446	275	2 466

In 1995 those agreeing with the statement consisted of 77,3% employed and 22,7% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents consisted of 99,2% of white, 70,8% of black, 93,7% of Indian and 84,5% of coloured respondents. The unemployed who agreed with the statement consisted of 0,8% of white, 29,2% of black, 6,3% of Indian and 15,5% of coloured respondents.

In 2001 the number of respondents who agreed with the statement consisted of 74,6% employed and 25,4% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents who agreed with this statement consisted of 91,0% white, 64,4% black, 78,5% Indian and 69,3% coloured respondents. The unemployed who agreed with the statement consisted of 9,0% of whites, 35,6% of black, 21,5% of Indian and 30,7% of coloured respondents.

The results, as expected, were as follows. From 1990 until 2001 there was a general decrease in the number of employed respondents who agreed with this statement from 82,5% in 1990 to 77,3% in 1995 and 74,6% in 2001. There has, however, also been an increase in the number of unemployed respondents who agreed with this statement over the same period from 17,5% in 1990 to 22,7% in 1995 and 25,4% in 2001.

Intolerance is indicated in the number of respondents mentioning immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours. Table 3.21. represents the employed and unemployed respondents mentioning immigrants and foreign workers in 1995 and 2001.

From 1995 to 2001 there was an increase in both the employed and unemployed number of respondents mentioning immigrants and foreigners as a group not wanted as neighbours from 1995 to 2001. In both 1995 and 2001 the number of respondents mentioning that they did not want immigrants as neighbours was higher in the unemployed category, with 27,9% of unemployed respondents in 1995 and 30,3% in 2001 in comparison with the employed group, with 18,9% of employed respondents

in 1995 and 23,7% in 2001. Unemployed respondents therefore appear more intolerant.

Table 3.21: ***Respondents mentioning immigrants or foreign workers as a group they would not like to have as neighbours according to employment category in 1995 and 2001***

Employment category	**1995**	**N**	**2001**	**N**
Employed	18,9%	391	23,7%	531
Unemployed	27,9%	145	30,3%	230
Total	21,2%	536	25,4%	761

Table 3.22. shows those who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours based on their race group and category of employment. The figures for 1995 and 2001 are given.

Table 3.22: ***Respondents mentioning immigrants or foreign workers as a group they would not like to have as neighbours by race and category of employment in 1995 and 2001***

	1995					**2001**				
Employment categories	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
Employed	61,9%	98,5%	93,5%	84,6%	67,5%	62,6%	89,3%	71,0%	77,5%	69,8%
Unemployed	38,1%	1,5%	6,5%	15,4%	32,5%	37,4%	10,7%	29,0%	22,5%	30,2%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	375	63	83	15	536	471	150	100	40	761

In 1995 those who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours consisted of 67,5% employed and 32,5% unemployed respondents. The

employed respondents who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers not wanted as neighbours consisted of 98,5% of white, 61,9% of black, 84,6% of Indian and 93,5% of coloured respondents. The unemployed respondents included 1,5% of white, 38,1% of black, 15,4% of Indian and 6,5% of coloured respondents.

In 2001 the respondents mentioning immigrants and foreign workers not wanted as neighbours consisted of 69,8% employed and 30,2% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents included 89,3% of white, 62,6% of black, 77,5% of Indian and 71,0% of coloured respondents. The unemployed consisted of 37,4% of black, 10,7% of white, 22,5% of Indian and 29,0% of coloured respondents.

During the 1995 to 2001 period there was a slight increase in the number of employed black respondents from 61,9% to 62,6% mentioning immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours. There has also been an increase in the unemployed white (1,5% to 10,7%), Indian (15,4% to 22,5%) and coloured groups (6,5% to 29,0%) who held this view. A high number of unemployed respondents mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours and this group appears to have higher levels of intolerance.

What should government do with people coming here from other countries for work? Table 3.23. shows the number of those respondents who stated that government should prohibit these people from coming here in 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.23: Respondents stating government should prohibit people from coming here to work according to employment categories in 1995 and 2001

	1995	**N**	**2001**	**N**
Employed	16,8%	340	16,8%	376
Unemployed	22,9%	115	25,1%	190
Total	18,3%	455	18,9%	566

From 1995 to 2001 the employed category remained constant with 16,8% of the employed in both years stating that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here. There has been an increase in the number of unemployed respondents stating that government should prohibit people coming here from 22,9% in 1995 to 25,1% in 2001. The unemployed respondents appear more intolerant.

Table 3.24. shows respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work according to the racial groups and category of employment. The responses are for 1995 and 2001.

Table 3.24: Respondents stating government should prohibit people from coming here to work by race and category of employment in 1995 and 2001

	1995					**2001**				
Employment categories	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**	**Black**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**	**Total**
Employed	65,3%	100%	82,7%	94,6%	69,3%	60,7%	90,8%	60,5%	78,4%	66,4%
Unemployed	34,7%		17,3%	5,4%	30,7%	39,3%	9,2%	39,5%	21,6%	33,6%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	314	48	61	32	455	361	87	81	37	566

In 1995 the respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here consisted of 69,3% employed and 30,7% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents consisted of 100% of white, 65,3% of black, 94,6% of Indian and 82,7% of coloured respondents. The unemployed included 34,7% of black, 5,4% of Indian and 17,3% of coloured respondents.

In 2001 those who stated government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work, consisted of 66,4% employed and 33,6% unemployed respondents. The employed respondents were consisted of 90,8% of white, 60,7% of black, 78,4% of Indian and 60,5% of coloured respondents. The unemployed

consisted of 9,2% of white, 39,3% of black, 21,6% of Indian and 39,5% of coloured respondents.

From 1995 to 2001 there was an increase in the number of respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work. In general there was an increase in the unemployed category with an increase in the white (0% to 9,2%), black (34,7% to 39,3%), Indian (5,4% to 21,6%) and coloured group (17,3% to 39,5%). The unemployed group appears to be more intolerant.

3.6. DISCUSSION

3.6.1. People from previously disadvantaged communities will have higher levels of intolerance than those from other groups

The importance of work category reveals that for most respondents work is as important as family and religion. In 1990 the highest number who stated that work was important in their lives came from the black group. In 2001 it can be noted that there was a general decrease among all the race groups and respondents stating that work is important. However, it should be kept in mind that the number of black respondents is still the highest. The high priority given to the importance of work could indicate that people might feel more threatened by those who might take away what is important to them. In this sense, then, blacks would be more intolerant towards immigrants.

From 1990 to 1995 there was an increase in all the race groups regarding the respondents who agreed with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants. This could also be attributed to the rise in unemployment and the scarcity of jobs. It appears that the formerly disadvantaged groups are more intolerant of immigrants.

There has also been a gradual increase in the number or respondents in the previously disadvantaged groups agreeing with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans and a decrease from 1995 to 2001 amongst whites. If this continues, the coloured, Indian and black groups could in fact become more in favour of having employers favouring South Africans to foreigners. The previously disadvantaged groups could therefore become more intolerant. The increase over the eleven-year period of 8,5% in the number of respondents agreeing with the statement that government should give South Africans priority over immigrants is significant. This could also then be a sign of growing intolerance.

The figures for respondents mentioning immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours reveal that the highest number of respondents mentioning this group came from the black and coloured groups. The indication is that the previously disadvantaged groups are more intolerant of immigrants and foreign workers.

The highest numbers of those stating that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here were from the black, coloured and Indian groups. More strongly intolerant attitudes are evident amongst the previously disadvantaged groups.

3.6.2. People with lower education will have higher levels of intolerance than those who have higher education

Even though the importance of work decreased from 1990 until 2001, work is still important for respondents from all the different levels of education. For each of the survey years, work is more important for those with a secondary level of education. If this is the case, then people who are less educated appear to be less secure and therefore more prone to being threatened by immigrants and hence more intolerant. Focusing on the race groups, the number of respondents in the tertiary education group increased over the survey years, especially for the white respondents with this educational level.

The cross-tabulation on education levels and those agreeing with the statement that priority should be given to South Africans over immigrants shows that the highest number agreeing with the statement once again came from those with a secondary level of education. This could therefore reinforce the point that those who have a lower level of education appear to be more intolerant.

The highest number of respondents who stated that they would not like to have immigrants or foreign workers as neighbours came from the secondary and primary levels as well as from those with no schooling. The lowest number mentioning immigrants and foreign workers not wanted as neighbours came from those with tertiary education levels for blacks, Indians and coloureds. The highest number of whites who mentioned immigrants and foreign workers not wanted as neighbours came from the secondary education group followed by the tertiary education group. Therefore (excepting white respondents) the lower the education level, the lower the tolerance level.

There was a general increase in the number of respondents who stated that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work. The highest numbers of the respondents stating this were from the secondary and primary education levels and from those with no schooling. These people would appear more intolerant.

3.6.3. Unemployed people will have higher levels of intolerance

Employment and the importance of work reveal that a higher number of unemployed than employed respondents stated that work was very important in their lives. This should be understood in the context of employment scarcity in South Africa.

A higher number of unemployed than employed respondents agreed with the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants when jobs are scarce. Immigrants could pose a threat to the unemployed and they may therefore have higher levels of intolerance.

The unemployed blacks, coloured and Indians mentioned immigrants and foreign workers as a group not wanted as neighbours most frequently. The unemployed previously disadvantaged groups, therefore, appear more intolerant of immigrants.

The number of employed respondents stating that government should prohibit people from other countries coming here to work remained constant from 1995 to 2001. However, the highest number of respondents stating this came from the unemployed black, coloured and Indian respondents. It can therefore be stated that the unemployed black, coloured and Indian respondents reveal more intolerant attitudes.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUDING REMARKS

4.1. SUMMARY

The aim of this study was to establish whether there was a growing trend of intolerance (especially xenophobia) towards immigrants within South African society from 1990 until 2001. Chapter One therefore presented a general background on South Africa and immigrants by describing specific types of immigrants as well as stating the figures relating to the number of immigrants in South Africa. It was indicated that there was an increase in the number of immigrants to South Africa over this period. It also focused on the reasons for them coming to the country and the reasons for why South Africa is perceived as an attractive destination or, in other cases, a safe haven.

Incidents relating to attacks on immigrants were also mentioned and the conditions for which immigrants have been blamed – namely, the increase in crime, the use of scarce public resources and the high unemployment rate – were discussed. In the light of all of these issues, it was established that South African society appears to be developing increasingly intolerant attitudes toward immigrants.

Chapter Two provided the conceptualisation and operationalisation of the study and focused on the specific terms and questions relating to intolerance and xenophobia. It also provided the relevant information on the World Values Survey.

Chapter Three dealt with the data analysis and analysed the attitudes of respondents according to the three hypotheses.

4.2. FINDINGS

In assessing and determining whether South Africans are in fact becoming more intolerant, three hypotheses were presented. These are the findings.

Hypothesis 1: People from previously disadvantaged groups will have higher levels of intolerance than those from previously advantaged groups.

It appears as if racial identity influences the level of intolerance. Even though it seems as if whites are more intolerant towards immigrants, there has been a decrease in this sentiment in this group over the years (based on the statement that employers should give priority to South Africans over immigrants when jobs are scarce). On the other hand, it appears as if the intolerance of the black, Indian and coloured groups has steadily been rising from 1990 onwards.

Hypothesis 2: People with lower education will have higher levels of intolerance than those who are more highly educated.

According to Stouffer (1955: 90), education appears to influence the level of intolerance. The respondents with a secondary education seem to be more intolerant of immigrants. It could be assumed that respondents with lower levels of education appear more intolerant.

Hypothesis 3: Unemployed people and those people in low-skilled jobs will have higher levels of intolerance.

Categories of employment revealed that the unemployed respondents expressed more intolerant attitudes than the employed respondents. It appears as if the category of employment influences the level of tolerance.

4.3. FURTHER RESEARCH

This study is a basic introduction and there is much opportunity for further research. It has only covered a 10-year period (1990 to 2001) and this trend in intolerance could in fact increase and become more overt in future.

This study has mainly used cross-tabulations as a method of determining the level of tolerance. It is therefore limited in itself. A more detailed study could be conducted in future which could focus on the correlation and covariance between the variables used in this study. This could in fact be more relevant and applicable in ascertaining whether levels of intolerance are rising.

It would also be interesting to conduct a study on what exactly causes these intolerant attitudes in South Africa by doing a qualitative study and interviewing respondents. This would provide further insight into why people are intolerant and xenophobic and then allow government to address the problem by eliminating the causes and origins of such sentiments.

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